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## THE NEO-BABYLONIAN TEXT FROM THE PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION\*

MATTHEW W. STOLPER, *University of Chicago*

OLD Persian inscriptions of Darius, Xerxes, and their successors sometimes call the rulers “king of lands (containing) all sorts of men” or “king of lands with many men.”<sup>1</sup> These “lands” are not geographical units, but peoples—nations<sup>2</sup>—and where corresponding Babylonian versions exist, they carry this nuance by rendering both epithets with “king of lands of all tongues.”<sup>3</sup> This theme, expressing the vastness of the empire by reference to the variety of its subjects, recurs throughout Achaemenid royal inscriptions and art.

Among the well-known practical responses to the polyglot nature of the Achaemenid empire were the preparation of royal inscriptions in several languages (a circumstance to which we owe the decipherment of cuneiform), the maintenance of existing forms of recording in some provinces (a circumstance that tends to disguise imperial conditions behind a veil of provincial expression), and the simultaneous propagation of Aramaic as a lingua franca (a circumstance that engenders uncertainty about the representative character of native documentation in the provinces).

\* An earlier version of this paper was presented to the 194th Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Seattle, Washington, in March 1984. I am indebted to J. A. Brinkman, W. M. Sumner, and others, for advice and criticism, and to A. M. Arfaee and C. E. Jones for observations on the Fortification texts.

Achaemenid royal inscriptions are cited according to the sigla assigned by R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, American Oriental Series 33 (New Haven, 1953), pp. 107 ff. and M. Mayrhofer, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 338 (Vienna, 1978). Babylonian texts are cited by the abbreviations used in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD). Note the following additional abbreviations: Fort. = tablets from the Persepolis Fortification; PF = Elamite tablets from the Persepolis Fortification published in R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP 92 (Chicago, 1969); PF-NN = unpublished Elamite tablets from the Persepolis Fortification, transliterated by R. T. Hallock (the letter after NN indicates the text category assigned by Hallock according to the

classification described in *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 13 ff.; the following number refers to a single series of numbers assigned by Hallock arbitrarily, according to the order in which the texts were read); PT = texts from the Persepolis Treasury published in G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, OIP 65 (Chicago, 1948); PT 1957 = texts from the Persepolis Treasury published in G. G. Cameron, “Persepolis Treasury Tablets Old and New,” *JNES* 17 (1958): 172–76; PT 1963 = texts from the Persepolis Treasury published in G. G. Cameron, “New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury,” *JNES* 24 (1965): 170–87. Transliteration and transcription of Achaemenid Elamite follow Hallock’s system.

<sup>1</sup> *Xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispazanānām*: DNā § 2, DZc § 2, DSe § 2; *xšāyaθiya dahyūnām paruzanānām* (or *paruv zananānām*, or *paruvzanānām*): DE § 2, XPa § 2, XPb § 2, XPe § 2, XPd § 2, XPf § 2, XV § 2, [A<sup>1</sup>Pa § 2], D<sup>2</sup>Ha § 2; also D<sup>2</sup>Hb § 2 in a text of doubtful authenticity (see Mayrhofer, *Supplement*, p. 30 and cf. D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, Cincinnati Classical Studies n.s. 1 [Leiden, 1977], p. 78, n. 182).

<sup>2</sup> Following Cameron, “The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters,” *JNES* 32 (1973): 47 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Šar mātaī ša naphar lišānu gabbi*, with variations: CAD L, s.v. *lišānu*, meaning 4c, and add *JNES* 4 230 (= A<sup>1</sup>Pa, Babylonian). The Elamite versions use transcriptions of or loanwords from Old Persian *dahyu-*, *vispazana-*, and *paruzana-*, with the partial exception of XPe § 2, which translates Old Persian *paruv* with Elamite *iršeki*.

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0022-2968/84/4304-0004\$1.00.

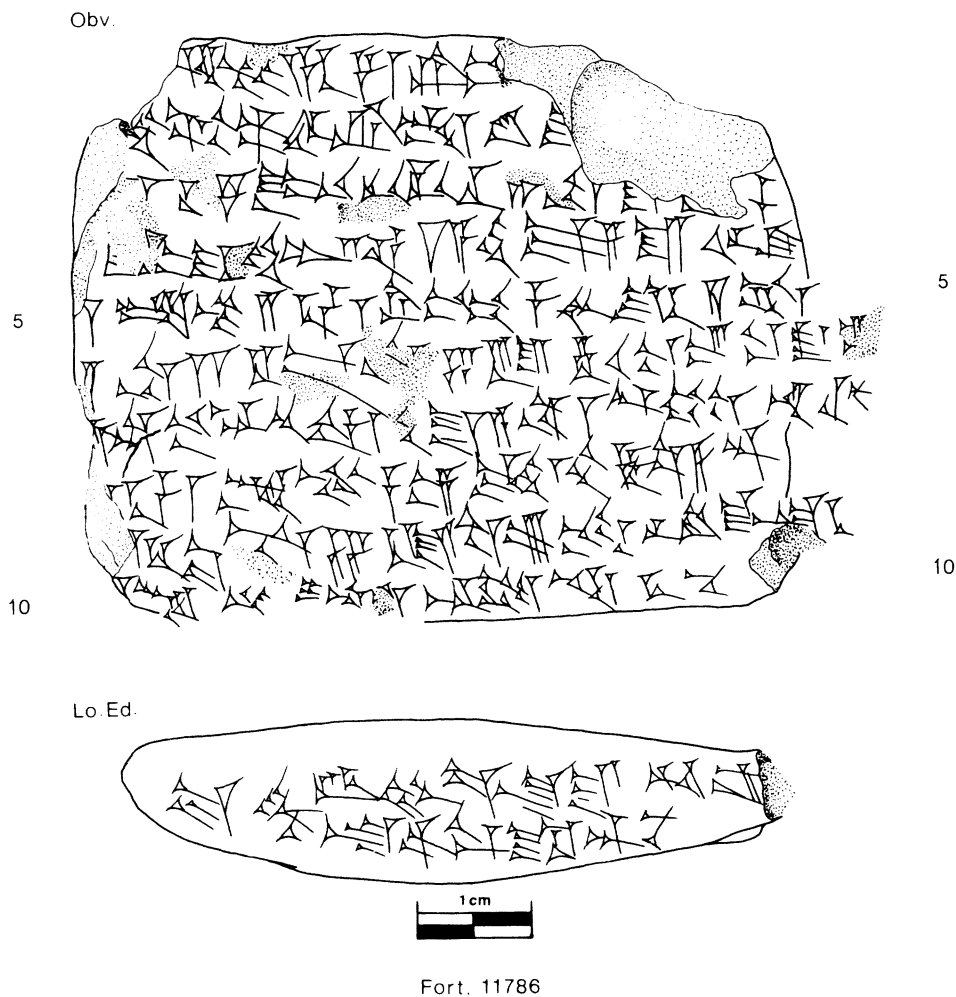


FIG. 1.

Among the less dramatic (and less easily evaluated) results of the empire's diversity is the fact that even at Persepolis, the chief royal residence in the Persian homeland from the reign of Darius the Great on, utilitarian records were kept in several languages. In the tablet archives from both the Treasury and the Fortification, Elamite administrative texts predominate. But one of the Treasury tablets is in Babylonian,<sup>4</sup> and the Fortification tablets include about 80 Elamite texts with Aramaic docket, about 700 monolingual Aramaic texts,<sup>5</sup> one short Greek text,<sup>6</sup> one text identified as

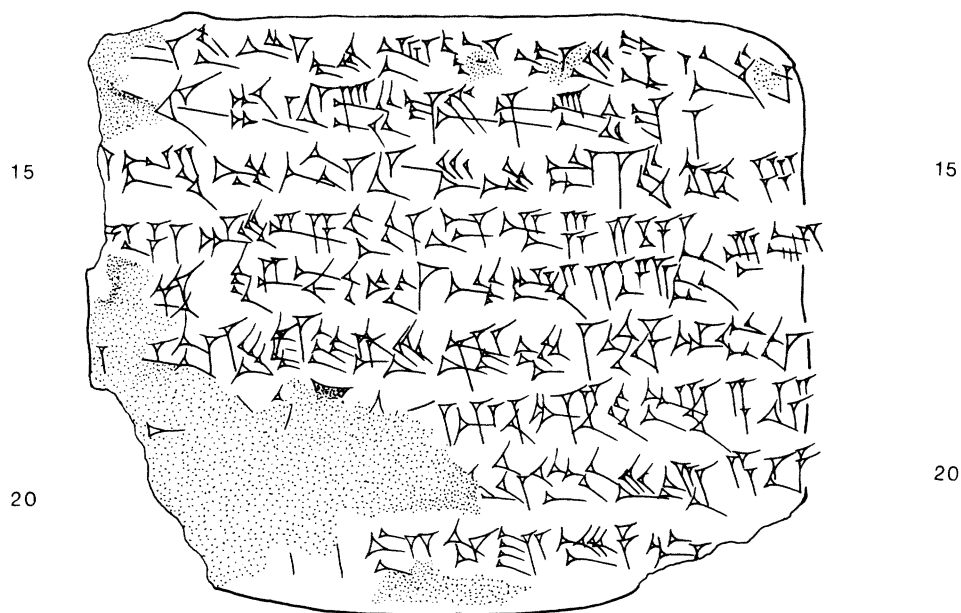
<sup>4</sup> PT 85 in Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished. My remarks on Aramaic texts from the Persepolis Fortification rely on R. A. Bowman, "Persepolis Aramaic Tablets" (unpublished MS) and

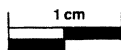
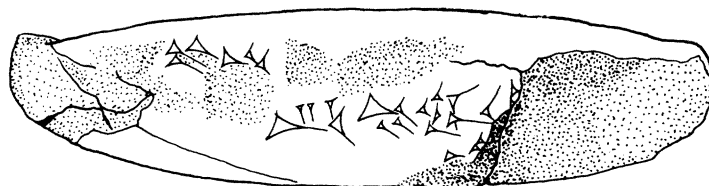
personal communications from C. E. Jones.

<sup>6</sup> Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 2; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, pp. 12 f.; J. Balcer, review of J. Hofstetter, *Die Griechen in Persien* in *BiOr* 36 (1979): 280.

Rev.



Up.Ed.



Fort. 11786

FIG. 2.

Phrygian,<sup>7</sup> and (in Hallock's words) "a single Neobabylonian tablet, Fort. 11786, which has thus far resisted interpretation."<sup>8</sup>

I present here the Neo-Babylonian text from the Fortification, along with comments on three loosely related topics: first, the provenience of the non-Elamite tablets found at Persepolis; second, the presence of Babylonians at and near Persepolis; and third, the general issue raised by the existence of this Babylonian text.

<sup>7</sup> Already mentioned by E. Herzfeld, "Recent Discoveries at Persepolis," *JRAS* 1934, p. 232; see J. Friedrich, "Phrygia (Sprache)," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 39. Halbband (Stuttgart, 1941), col. 869; idem, "Ein phrygisches Siegel und ein phrygisches Tontäfel-

chen," *Kadmos* 4 (1965): 154 ff.; O. Haas, *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler* (*Balkansko Ezikoznanie* 10) (Sofia, 1966), p. 176; Cameron, "Persian Satrapies," pp. 51 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 2.

## Fort. 11786

## Text

obv.

- 1 [md]EN-MU A-šú šá mNi-q[u-du(?) ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú]  
 2 [m]DUG.GA-pa-ši(?) -ir-<sup>d</sup>EN LÚ qa[l-la-šú šá]  
 3 ʾRIT(?)<sup>1</sup>-šú šá i-mit-ti-šú a-na ʾšu-mi<sup>1</sup> šá  
 4 [m]ʾŠu(?) -lum(?)<sup>1</sup>-me(?) -<sup>3</sup> A-šú šá mA-ḫi-ma-a-su ù  
 5 mdEN-MU A-šú šá mNi-qu-<du?> šá-ṭár-ra-a-ta  
 6 a-na 2 ½ MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR(!) BABBAR-ú qa-lu-ʾú<sup>1</sup>  
 7 a-na šAM gam-ru-tu a-na mdAMAR.UTU-EN-šú-nu  
 8 ʾA<sup>1</sup>-šú šá mdEN-MU-GAR-un id-din KÙ.BABBAR a<sub>4</sub>  
 9 ʾ2<sup>1</sup> ½ MA.NA 5 GÍN BABBAR-ú šAM LÚ qal-la-šú  
 10 mdEN-MU i-na ʾŠU(!)<sup>1</sup> mdAMAR.UTU-EN-šú-nu

lower edge

- 11 ma-ḫi-ir pu-ut la si(!)-ḫu-ú  
 12 u la paq-qa-ra-an-nu

rev.

- 13 [l]a LÚ.ARAD.LUGAL-ú-ʾtu<sup>1</sup> la LÚ.DUMU.DÙ-tu  
 14 [la] ši-rik(!)-ú-tu LÚ.PA-ú-tu <<<sup>m</sup>>>  
 15 mdEN-MU na-ši LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> mDUG.GA-iá  
 16 A-šú šá mdIM-A-ùRU mBa-si-iá A-šú šá <<<sup>m</sup>>>  
 17 [x x] x IM-NUMUN-MU mMU-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá mŠEŠ-ú-tu(text -zu)  
 18 ʾm]ʾl-tam-meš-ki(?) -i-ni LÚ.SAG.LUGAL mSUM-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 19 [A-šú šá . . . ] mRi-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá  
 20 [ . . . mdAMA]R.UTU-ùRU LÚ.ŠID A-šú šá  
 21 [ . . . ] URU Par-su ITI.APIN

upper edge

- 22 [UD.X].KÁM ʾMU<sup>1</sup>.[y.KÁM]  
 23 [mDa]-ri-mu-muš L[UGAL DIN.TIR.KI(?)]  
 24 ʾLUGAL<sup>1</sup> [KUR.KUR]

## Translation

(1-8) Bēl-iddin, son of Niqudu(?), [voluntarily] sold his slave, Ṭāb-pašir-Bēl, whose right hand is inscribed with the names of Šulumme<sup>3</sup>(?), son of Aḫimasu, and Bēl-iddin, son of Niqu<du?>, to Marduk-bēlšunu, son of Bēl-šum-iškun, for the full price of two minas and twenty-five shekels of white, refined silver. <sup>(8-11)</sup> Bēl-iddin has

received from Marduk-bēlšunu that silver, two minas and twenty-five shekels, the price of his slave. <sup>(11-15)</sup> Bēl-iddin assumes guaranty against suits (brought by) improper or proper claimants (to the slave) (and against suits claiming) the status of king's servant, free citizen, temple oblate, (or) . . . (for the slave). <sup>(15-20)</sup> (Witnesses). <sup>(20-24)</sup> Marduk-nāšir, notary, son of [ . . . ]. Parsu: month VIII, [day x], year [y] of Darius (I), k[ing of Babylon(?)], king [of lands]."

### Commentary

1. <sup>md</sup>EN-MU: the name Bēl-iddin is probably reflected in the Elamite transcription *Be-ul-ti-in* (only in PF 1258, year 28 of Darius I; see J. A. Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne des archives élamites de Persépolis," *Studia Iranica* 5 [1976]: 13, despite M. A. Dandamayev's review of M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 227 [1975]: 235) and certainly in the Aramaic transcription *Bldn* (R. A. Bowman, "Persepolis Aramaic Tablets" [unpublished MS], nos. 27, 38, and 49, years 22 and 23 of Darius I). A cognate name, Bēl-ittannu, is transcribed with Elamite *Pi-li-da-an* (PF 2067 f.) and *Be-li-da-an* (PF 1802; see Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne," p. 24) in letter-orders from year 22 of Darius I.

2. [<sup>m</sup>]DÜG.GA-*pa-ši(?)*-ir-<sup>d</sup>EN: I see no alternative to this reading, although it results in an unparalleled, meaningless name. Perhaps an erroneous spelling of Ṭāb-šār-Bēl, or a slovenly writing of DÜG.GA-šú-ar-<sup>d</sup>EN.

3 ff. For the syntax, cf. *ša rit-ta-šú ša imitti ana šumi ša PN šaṭ-ṭār-ra-tu<sub>4</sub> ša rit-ta-šú ša šumēlušu ana šumi ša PN<sub>2</sub> šaṭ-ṭār-ra-tu<sub>4</sub>*, JCS 28 59 no. 58: 3 ff. (Darius I).

4. <sup>m</sup>A-*hi-ma-a-su*: I know of no such name in other NB texts. Ran Zadok (personal communication) suggests an Iranian etymology: \**Haxi-vasa*-, "friends willing."

6. The price is within the range attested in Mesopotamian slave sales from the reign of Darius I. See the examples collected by W. H. Dubberstein, "Comparative Prices in Later Babylonia (625-400 B.C.)," *AJSL* 56 (1939): 35, n. 70.

7. <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-šú-nu: cf. Elamite *Be-ul-šu-un* = Babylonian Bēlšunu (PF 2018; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 286 [Vienna, 1973], p. 145; Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne," p. 13) and Elamite *Mar-du-ka*, *Mar-du-uk-ka*, *Mar-tuk-ka* (references in Hallock, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 725), presumably a hypocoristic Babylonian name (Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, p. 191; Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne," pp. 17 f.).

14. LÚ.PA-ú-tu: perhaps an abbreviation for LÚ.PA.KAB.DU-ú-tu = *širkūtu* (cf. LÚ.PA.KAB-ú-tu, YOS 6 80:16, and LÚ.PA.DU, YOS 3 59:20); if so, it is an ineffective gloss or a redundancy. If another protected status is meant, (*la*) LÚ *šušānūtu* is the expected sequel, but it is most common in late Achaemenid and Seleucid texts dealing with sales and transfers of slaves, rare in such texts from earlier reigns (e.g., Dar. 212:9).

20. [<sup>md</sup>AMA]R.UTU-ÜRURU: cf. *Mar-du-ka-na-zir*, an Elamite transcription of the same name, in the latest of the Persepolis Treasury tablets (PT 25, year 7 of Artaxerxes I; see Hallock, "A New Look at the Persepolis Treasury Tablets," *JNES* 19 [1960]: 91), hence surely not referring to the scribe named here.

Left edge: illegible traces of a seal impression.

The tablet's unattractive script accounts for its resistance to interpretation. The signs are coarsely formed. Some wedges are lightly impressed; others show the marks of a blunt or split stylus. The copy does not do justice to the ambiguous appearance of some parts of the text. But even though the reading of a few signs is questionable, the tablet is the work of a scribe well versed in Babylonian documentary forms and its overall contents are plain. It is a legal document; it records a slave sale in common Neo-Babylonian form; the buyer, the seller, and most of the witnesses have Babylonian names. As a Babylonian text it is unexceptional—but it is not strictly a Babylonian text. It was found at Persepolis, and according to its date formula it was written there.

The text is anomalous not only because of its language but also because of its type. It is a private legal document found in a very large group of administrative records that form an otherwise coherent archive dealing with transfers of food and related matters.<sup>9</sup> It is more of an anomaly than is the Babylonian Treasury tablet. The latter is an administrative text; it deals with the assaying of silver, and silver payments are the chief topic of the Treasury archive. There is at least a loose similarity of topic and type that is entirely absent in the case of the Neo-Babylonian Fortification text.

Cameron considered PT 85, the Babylonian Treasury tablet, to be so out of place that it must have been written somewhere other than Persepolis, perhaps in Media, more probably in Babylonia.<sup>10</sup> This conclusion now seems unwarranted. Fort. 11786 demonstrates that texts in Babylonian language and form were written at Persepolis. Even though PT 85 is formally and chronologically exceptional among the Treasury tablets, there is no need to suppose that it came to the Treasury from any great distance.

The same judgment applies to the other non-Elamite texts from the Fortification. The Aramaic tablets are undoubtedly part of the same archive as the Elamite tablets.<sup>11</sup> They deal with the same topics (rations, seed, etc.), name some of the same places and persons, and have seals applied in the same ways. Likewise, the single Greek tablet (Fort. 1771) records an administrative transfer of wine, as the routine application of two seals implies.<sup>12</sup> Of the Phrygian text I can say nothing, since it has not been interpreted. Nevertheless, Cameron recognized in it an Old Persian month name,<sup>13</sup> a hint of a provenience in Persia proper. In the absence of other evidence to the contrary, we ought to presume of all these peculiar documents what is clear of the Neo-Babylonian Fortification text—that they were written at Persepolis or at least within the administrative district monitored from Persepolis.

There is nothing immediately surprising in this view. The Elamite tablets abound in references to workers and travelers characterized by non-Iranian ethnic labels. Some of those workers, like the men who left Greek graffiti at the Achaemenid quarries near the Persepolis terrace,<sup>14</sup> were literate. Others were themselves scribes. The Fortification

<sup>9</sup> Hallock, "The Persepolis Fortification Archive," *Or.* n.s. 42 (1973): 320 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, pp. 4 and 200.

<sup>11</sup> As Hallock assumed; see "Persepolis Fortification Archive," p. 320.

<sup>12</sup> Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, pp. 13 f.; cf. Hallock, "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets" in M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Bibliotheca

Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu, California, 1977), p. 127. The text differs from the Elamite tablets but resembles the Aramaic ones in its use of a Babylonian month name.

<sup>13</sup> [A]namaka: see Haas, *Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 176; Cameron, "Persian Satrapies," p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> G. P. Caratelli, "Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East," *East and West* 16 (1966): 31 ff.; Balcer's review of Hofstetter, *BiOr* 36, p. 278.

texts refer (mostly in letter-orders issued by the chiefs of the Persepolis administrative services) to groups of "Babylonian scribes"<sup>15</sup> or of "Babylonian scribes (writing) on leather," presumably in Aramaic.<sup>16</sup>

More importantly, Babylonian scribes and functionaries operated not merely within the Persepolis administration's field of control but in the central bureaus at Persepolis itself. Letter-orders (and texts of some other types) commonly include subscripts naming both the scribe who wrote the text and other aides to the chief administrative officers, that is, individuals who were instrumental in producing and transmitting orders in the names of the chief administrators.<sup>17</sup> A third or fewer of these aides have unequivocally Iranian names.<sup>18</sup> One has the name—or rather, the sobriquet—Yaunā, "Ionian."<sup>19</sup> But out of 31 such aides, at least 8 (and perhaps 11) have transcribed Babylonian names or West Semitic names well paralleled in texts from Babylonia.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> PF 1807, 1828; PF-NN T-1040, T-1369, T-1511 (all letter-orders).

<sup>16</sup> PF 1808, 1810 (both letter-orders), 1947 (journal entry); PF-NN T-61, T-1255, T-1752, T-1775 (all letter-orders). "Babylonian" is the only ethnic label used of such groups; see Hallock, "Persepolis Fortification Archive," p. 322.

<sup>17</sup> The persons named in the formulas *pattikamaš* PN *lišta*, "so-and-so delivered the message" (hereafter, formula P), and *dumme* PN-*ikkamar dušta*, "he (the scribe?) received the *dumme* (perhaps: the order, or: the file-copy) from so-and-so" (hereafter, formula D); see Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 51 and Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, pp. 10 f., nn. 38 ff. The latter amply surveys occurrences in published Fortification texts. In the following, I rely on Lewis's remarks along with a survey of the Treasury texts and unpublished Fortification texts transliterated by Hallock and Cameron (including 69 texts of type T, 31 texts of type H, and 10 texts of other types). With Lewis (p. 11), I omit Mannunda from consideration, considering him to be "Parnaka's personal steward" rather than a functionary in the Persepolis regime as such, and I consider Manukka (PF-NN H-1717, in formula P) to be a hypocoristic for his name. For similar reasons, I omit from consideration individuals named in the subscripts of letters from Irdumartiya (on whom see Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," a chapter printed separately from *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2 [Cambridge, 1971], p. 12). Three of the aides named in formulas P and D in Fortification texts also appear in the same formulas in Treasury texts: Bakapukša (PF-NN H-709; PT 38, 41–42a, 47 f., 54, 56–59, 68, PT 1963–2, 10–12, 14 f.), Nutanuya (PT 9 and PT 1963–19), and Yaunā (PT 21). Others named in these formulas in Treasury texts are Marduka (PT 1), Irdakaya (PT 3a, 9, 13, 15 f., 18, 22; PT 1957–1; PT 1963–6), Šakka (PT 12), [...]-*ti* (PT 12a), [...]-*iš* (PT 14), Hitiš and Aptiš (PT 19), Akkušu (PT 27), Mušmardu (PT 28), Ura (PT 31), and Bakakeya (PT 1957–5). Others named in unpublished Fortification texts (I omit additional occurrences of individuals known from

published texts) are: *Ba-[x]-ya* (PF-NN T-1880, in formula D), Dalaya (PF-NN T-939 and T-1839, both in formula D), Dadumanya (PF-NN T-2529, with Yaunā in formula D), Datena (PF-NN T-161, in formula D; H-1127 and H-1983, both in formula P); Kapparša (PF-NN T-543, in formula D), *Pir(?)iš-la-a* (PF-NN H-88, in formula D), and *Pu-ru(?)na* (PF-NN E-1701, in formula D).

The meaning of *dumme* in formula D is uncertain. On account of its vowel, I am skeptical of the suggestion that *dumme* is a loanword from Aramaic *ṭm* or Akkadian *tēmu* (Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, p. 10, n. 38; cf. W. Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," *ZA* 61 [1971]: 310). Instead, I suggest a reconciliation of Cameron's etymology (*Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 84, note to PT 1:22) with Hallock's contextual inferences (*Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 51): that *dumme* is a noun derived from Elamite *du-*, "receive"; that formula D has to do with the production of the letter-order, rather than with its delivery; and that *dumme* means not "receipt" but "copy," "duplicate," or even "draft" (like Akkadian *miḫru* and *gabarū*).

<sup>18</sup> Bakakeya, Bakapukša, Dadumanya, Datena, Irdakaya, Kamezza, and Maraza; probably Kapparša, perhaps Aptiš and Ura; see Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, s.vv., with previous literature.

<sup>19</sup> Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, p. 12 with n. 49, with prior literature; cf. Šakka, "Scythian" (Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, s.v.).

<sup>20</sup> Abbalaya, Bariktimiš, Hitibel, Lakip, Marduka, Nanitin, Pilidan, and Ribaya; perhaps Nutanuya (see Dandamayev's review of Mayrhofer, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 227, pp. 234 ff.; Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne," pp. 9 ff.; R. Zadok, review of Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* in *JCS* 29 [1977]: 58 f.), Mušmardu (see Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, s.v.; Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne," pp. 20 f.), and Dalaya (cf. NB Talla<sup>2</sup>, R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia* [Jerusalem, 1977], p. 114).



In the context of these archives, such names are meaningful. The great majority of personal names in the Persepolis tablets are Iranian. Despite the many examples of onomastic assimilation in the provinces, there is no reason for Iranians in Fārs to have adopted foreign names. These clearly non-Iranian names are very likely to mark their bearers' origins. If so, many non-Iranians served in subordinate but privileged posts at the central offices of the Persepolis administration. They had access to the administrative archives kept at the Persepolis terrace. Babylonians were numerous among them.

In fact, Babylonians had been present in the vicinity even before Persepolis was built. This conclusion derives from ten Babylonian texts that refer to a place named Ḫumadēšu: seven of them are legal texts drafted at Ḫumadēšu between the fourth year of Cambyses (526 B.C.) and the first year of Smerdis (probably Vahyazdāta, the second Smerdis, hence 521 B.C.), two are legal texts probably written there in the seventh year of Cambyses (523/22 B.C.), and one is an undated letter from Uruk ordering supplies to be issued to a party of travelers en route to Ḫumadēšu.<sup>21</sup> Two of the legal texts mention numerous Iranian names;<sup>22</sup> but in the rest, the names of most of the parties, witnesses, and scribes are Babylonian. Four of them, like the Babylonian Fortification text, record slave sales.<sup>23</sup>

Ran Zadok has proposed that Ḫumadēšu is the Babylonian transcription of a Persian place name and that it indicates the same place called by a slightly different form of the name in the Old Persian text of the Bisitun inscription (DB § 43): Uvādaicaya, the town in Persia where Darius executed his Persian opponent Vahyazdāta.<sup>24</sup> The Elamite version of the same passage gives the name as Matezziš, and Matezziš is one of the places named most frequently in the Persepolis texts. It was, says Hallock, "the most important site, after Persepolis, in the Persepolis area,"<sup>25</sup> "immediately adjacent to Persepolis."<sup>26</sup>

The grounds for this location are circumstantial but strong. Matezziš is the site named most frequently in Fortification tablets with impressions of Seal I, a seal otherwise used almost exclusively on texts recording rations issued to workers at places in the Persepolis area. After Persepolis and Susa, Matezziš is the place named most frequently as a point of origin or destination of travel parties. And, most tellingly, a number of supply personnel exercised their functions both at Persepolis

<sup>21</sup> Camb. 251, 309, 310, 384, 388; Hecker *Giessen* 47; ZA 61 255; *Hebraica* 8 134; ZA 4 148 no. 2 (all legal); TCL 9 85 (letter); see R. Zadok, "On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C.," *Iran* 14 (1976): 67–78.

<sup>22</sup> Camb. 384 and *Hebraica* 8 134; see Zadok, "Iran and Babylonia," pp. 76 ff. for analyses.

<sup>23</sup> Camb. 251 (fragment); Camb. 309; Camb. 384 (in irregular form); *Hebraica* 8 134 (in irregular form). Camb. 388 revokes the slave sale recorded in Camb. 309. Four of the Ḫumadēšu texts, incidentally, list among the witnesses an individual entitled *ša rēš šarri* (Camb. 309:11, 388:17, ZA 4 149 no. 2:16 [loan], and Hecker *Giessen* 47:9 [loan], all referring to the same man), but I can draw no conclusions

from this point of resemblance to Fort. 11786:18.

<sup>24</sup> Zadok, "Iran and Babylonia," pp. 69 f. The Babylonian version of DB § 43, published since Zadok's article appeared, neither confirms nor refutes his proposal. It uses a slightly irregular transcription of the Old Persian version's form of the toponym, URU Ū-ma (Von Voigtlander: *ba*)-*da-sa*[sic?]-*īa*<sup>1</sup>(or: 'a-a') (E. Von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, pt. 1, vol. 2 [London, 1978], p. 34:78).

<sup>25</sup> Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> Hallock, "The Use of Seals," p. 130.

and Matezziš (and one at Pasargadae and Matezziš) at approximately the same times.<sup>27</sup>

I conclude, therefore, first, with Zadok, that Babylonian Ḥumadēšu, Elamite Matezziš, and Old Persian Uvādaicaya all refer to the same town; second, with Hallock, that this town was the principal settlement in the immediate vicinity of Persepolis during the period of the Fortification archive; third, judging by DB § 43, that it was already the chief place in the region before the reign of Darius and so before the construction of Persepolis began; and fourth, judging by the Babylonian legal texts drafted there, that it was the home of an enclave of Babylonians during the reign of Cambyses.

There is clear evidence of extensive early Achaemenid occupation in the plain adjacent to the Persepolis terrace: a small stone pavilion or palace at Dašt-e Gōhar, about 5 km north of the Persepolis terrace; a column torus from a large, low mound near Shams Ābād Takht, about 2½ km south of the terrace; paving stones, construction blocks, fragments of stone relief sculpture, and the remains of an immense gateway, all from a cluster of nine low mounds in the vicinity of Bāgh Fīrūzī, about 4 km west of the terrace; and Achaemenid ceramics from a 24-ha cluster of contiguous small mounds about 1½ km west of the terrace. At the Bāgh Fīrūzī and Dašt-e Gōhar sites the masonry forms and techniques point unmistakably to a date before Darius's buildings on the terrace and approximately contemporary with the constructions at Pasargadae.<sup>28</sup> It is likely that the entire area between the foot of the Kūh-e Raḥmat and the left bank of the river Sivand (Pulvar) formed a single complex of settlement, covering ca. 150–200 ha, of relatively low density but with the architectural trappings of a considerable political center.<sup>29</sup> Parts of this settled area were certainly thriving when Darius began the construction of Persepolis proper, his "fortress" (Elamite *halmarraš*) where there had been no fortress before.<sup>30</sup> If Hallock's view of the proximity between Persepolis and Matezziš is correct part or all of this settled area is the most likely candidate for the site of Matezziš.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See the brief statements in Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," pp. 17 f.; "Persepolis Fortification Archive," p. 322; and "The Use of Seals," p. 130. Extensive documentation (including references to seven functionaries common to Persepolis and Matezziš) has been compiled from published and unpublished Fortification texts by Hallock's student A. M. Arfae, to whom I am obligated for this information. Partially independent assessments of place names in the published Fortification tablets, conducted by William Sumner and by Heidmarie Koch and Walther Hinz, reached conclusions about the location of Matezziš that are similar to Hallock's (personal communications).

<sup>28</sup> See A. B. Tilia, "A Survey of Achaemenian Sites in the Northeastern Part of the Marvdasht Plain: A Preliminary Report," pp. 71–91 in *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1978). I owe thanks to William Sumner for information on sites in the immediate vicinity of the Persepolis terrace that are not included in Tilia's description.

<sup>29</sup> Similarly, W. M. Sumner, "Achaemenid Settlement and Land Use in the Persepolis Plain," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1982, to be published in revised form in *AJA*; compare the brief suggestion that this area was the site of an unfinished garden capital like the one at Pasargadae, in D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), p. 135, as well as Quintus Curtius's comments (V.4.6) that the region around Persepolis was "a fertile country, abounding in cities and many villages."

<sup>30</sup> DPf § 2 (Elamite only; see F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 3 [Leipzig, 1911], pp. 82 f. and E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis, I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, OIP 68 [Chicago, 1953], p. 63).

<sup>31</sup> Zadok, seemingly unaware of Hallock's view, located Ḥumadēšu/Matezziš at a considerable distance from Persepolis, at the western extreme of Persis, no more than 50 km east of Susa ("Iran and Babylonia," p. 70). His grounds were the fact that

I can draw no specific connections with the Babylonian functionaries in the administrative services at Persepolis and the Babylonian texts from Ḫumadēšu to explain how a Babylonian legal text was introduced into the Fortification archive.<sup>32</sup> The text is intrusive, but the intrusion evidently took place during the life of the archive.<sup>33</sup> The presence of Babylonians with professional access to the archive indicates opportunities for the intrusion. The Ḫumadēšu texts supply a precedent for Babylonian legal recording in general, and Babylonian recording of slave sales in particular, in the neighborhood of Persepolis.

This is, however, an incomplete precedent. The Ḫumadēšu tablets come from unexcavated and therefore uncertain proveniences, but the six Egibi texts among them surely came from the same source as most of the other Egibi texts, that is, from Babylonia. The same holds for various other Achaemenid Babylonian legal texts that were written outside of Babylonia.<sup>34</sup> And a converse situation underlies still other

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Itti-Marduk-balātu, a member of the Babylonian Egibi family, is mentioned in texts from Babylon (Camb. 305; 30/1/6 Cambyses) and from Ḫumadēšu (Camb. 309; 15/II/6 Cambyses) dated only sixteen days apart, implying a short travel time between the two places. No place within 50 km of Susa, however, can reasonably be considered a part of ancient Persis. Moreover, Camb. 305 is a simple record of a debt, with Itti-Marduk-balātu as the creditor; there is nothing in the form or nature of the transaction that requires him to have been present when the note was drawn up.

J. Hansman, "An Achaemenian Stronghold," pp. 289–312 in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, vol. 3, *Acta Iranica* 16 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 289–312, suggests that Tell-e Zohak (near Fasā, about 140 km southeast of Persepolis) is ancient Matezziš/Uvādaicaya. I cannot refute or dismiss the combination of etymologies and historical suppositions marshalled in support of this proposal, but I find them to give a less parsimonious account of the evidence than Hallock's and Arfaee's. Note, incidentally, that PF 1572, a memorandum recording the issuing of supplies at Matezziš to Indians en route from the king (Darius I) to India, by no means implies that the king was then resident at Matezziš (despite Hansman's inference, *ibid.*, pp. 306 f.), and that Matezziš is indeed named in the Treasury texts (PT 83:6, see Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 199 and Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 728, s.v. Matezziš).

<sup>32</sup> The bill of sale, Fort. 11786, was presumably the property of the buyer, Marduk-bēlšunu. There is no clear transcription of his name among the other Fortification texts; transcriptions of the seller's name occur, but it is a common Babylonian name and there is no reason to suppose that the same individual is meant. In general, since the Aramaic and Elamite texts from Persepolis do not normally supply patronyms, there is little chance for confident identification of individuals named in them with

individuals named in Babylonian texts. There is no prosopographic connection between Fort. 11786 and any of the Ḫumadēšu texts.

<sup>33</sup> Although Herzfeld referred to the findspot of the Fortification tablets as "two little archive chambers in the fortification wall" ("Recent Discoveries at Persepolis," p. 231; see also "The Oriental Institute Archaeological Report," *AJSL* 50 [1934]: 272) the tablets are commonly held to have been re-deposited there as fill (e.g., Hallock, "Persepolis Fortification Archive," p. 320). No detailed account of the circumstances of discovery is available. Even if the texts were re-deposited, the overall consistency of the rest of the archive shows that little if any contamination from sources extraneous to it took place. Note, however, Hallock's comments on the unique text PF 335 (*ibid.*, pp. 321 and 323).

<sup>34</sup> In particular, the other Egibi texts written in Iran (surveyed by Zadok, "Iran and Babylonia," pp. 71 ff.): Cyr. 29, a note for silver debited against a member of the Babylonian Egibi family (if it was indeed part of the Babylonian Egibi archive, it was the record of a discharged obligation, kept only as an archival record); Cyr. 37, a similar note with the added specification that the debt was to be repaid in Babylon; Cyr. 60, a similar note, drafted at Ecbatana (URU KUR *A-ga-ma-ta-nu*), with the provision that it was to be repaid in dates according to the exchange rate at Babylon, hence presumably in Babylon; note, however, Cyr. 227, drafted at an uncertain location (Zadok, "Iran and Babylonia," p. 72, n. 117) but recording a debt to be repaid to the Egibis in Ecbatana (KUR *Ag-ma-ta-nu*). Other such texts are *JCS* 28 40 no. 28, a receipt for silver paid in Ecbatana (URU *A-ga-ma-ta-nu*) against dates to be delivered in the vicinity of Sippar; PBS 2/1 113, a slave sale drafted at Susa (*Šu-ša-an*.k1) but found in the Murašû archive at Nippur; and PBS 2/1 128, a receipt also written at Susa (KUR *Šu-ša-an*), also from the Murašû archive.

Achaemenid Babylonian documents, written in Babylonia but found elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> Most such “extra-territorial” documents of Achaemenid date were either drafted in Babylonia or drafted in order to be kept in Babylonia.

There are rare exceptions to this general appraisal—texts both drafted and found outside of Babylonia proper but still in territories that had been under Neo-Babylonian political control or that had held populations of ethnic Babylonians well before the Achaemenid empire was formed.<sup>36</sup> The Neo-Babylonian Fortification text is still more of an exception: it was drafted beyond the limits of earlier Babylonian political or cultural dominance, and it never left Persepolis.

The conditions in which such texts were produced were certainly diverse, but most of the texts are evidence of a common phenomenon, the existence of Babylonian enclaves in various provinces of the Persian empire: persons who had moved or had been moved from Babylonia, taking Babylonian documents with them; persons resident abroad engaged in routine transactions with businessmen who were based in Babylonia; and, in the case of the Persepolis text, Babylonian permanent residents at an imperial political center, who produced their own transactions in Babylonian form. Such enclaves had counterparts among the many foreign groups mentioned in Achaemenid texts from Babylonia.<sup>37</sup> It is quite likely that Babylonian enclaves abroad,

<sup>35</sup> E.g., a bill of sale for a donkey, drafted at Babylon in the reign of Darius I but found at Tyre (G. Wilhelm, “La Première tablette cunéiforme trouvée à Tyr,” *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 26 [1973]: 37). Note particularly the Neirab texts (P. Dhorme, “Les Tablettes babyloniennes de Neirab,” *RA* 25 [1928]: 53–82), mostly documents dealing with grain and silver, dated in Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid reigns, and found near Aleppo but probably written in Babylonia: see I. Eph<sup>c</sup>al, “The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.: Maintenance and Cohesion,” *Or.* n.s. 47 (1978): 84 ff.; S. Dalley’s rejection of Eph<sup>c</sup>al’s argument (“The Cuneiform Tablet from Tell Tawilan,” *Levant* 16 [1984]: 20) seems to rest on a *reductio ad absurdum*.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., a tablet found at Tell Tawilan in Jordan (*ibid.*, p. 21) but drafted at Harran (KASKAL.KI) during the reign of one of the kings named Darius. Judging by the published copy, this poorly preserved tablet is not the record of a sale of livestock but a document arising from a dispute over a prior sale, obliging one of the parties to produce witnesses to verify the legitimacy of the sale. Since I have not seen the original or photographs of it, it is only with some hesitation that I suggest the following readings: <sup>1</sup> [x]<sup>1</sup> pu-ut [LÚ mu]-kin-nu-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>2</sup> [2 zi(?)<sup>1</sup>]-[ka(?)]-ri.MEŠ šá PN...<sup>5</sup> PN<sub>2</sub> <sup>6</sup>...[na-ši<sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup> ki-ri(?)<sup>1</sup> la uk-ti-in-[nu] <sup>8</sup> zi-ka-ri a<sub>4</sub> 2 [(x)] <sup>9</sup> PN<sub>2</sub> <sup>10</sup> a-na PN [i<sup>1</sup>]-[nam-din], “PN<sub>2</sub> assumes responsibility for testimony about two rams(?) belonging to PN (which a third person sold), if he does not produce testimony, he will give the aforesaid two rams(?) to PN.” The names of the parties to this document are West Semitic, though most have parallels among

texts from Babylonia.

An “extraterritorial” text of another sort is MDP 36 84 no. 4, in which a woman leases her daughter to another woman for an uncertain purpose (line 5: *ana* SAL.NU.MAR.RA-ú-tu), dated in the reign of one of the kings named Artaxerxes, drafted at Susa (KUR Šu-šá-an.KI) and found there. For other textual references to contacts between Achaemenid Babylonia and Elam, see the survey by M. A. Dandamayev, “Connections between Elam and Babylonia in the Achaemenid Period,” *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* (Tehran, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 258–64 (add CT 56 193: 12 and 762: 3, both from the reign of Darius I). “Elam” in these contexts may refer simply to the general area of the Achaemenid satrapy of Elam, centered on Susa, but since explicit Babylonian references to Persis are lacking, “Elam” may have a wider geographical reference. There are also pre-Achaemenid Babylonian legal texts drafted at sites that were probably in Khuzistan and certainly within the domain of Neo-Elamite kings: BM 79013 (see E. Leichty, “Bel-epuš and Tammariu,” *Anatolian Studies* 33 [1983]: 153 ff.), drafted at Hidalu and dated by Tammariu; PTS 2713 (unpublished), drafted at Bit Hulammu and dated by Hallušu; and A 33248 (see D. Weisberg, “The Length of the Reign of Hallušu-Inšušinak,” *JAOS* 104 [1984]: 215), drafted at Sumundanaš but excavated at Nippur, also dated by Hallušu.

<sup>37</sup> See Eph<sup>c</sup>al, “Western Minorities in Babylonia,” pp. 76 ff. and the summary remarks of Dandamayev in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 338 ff.

like ethnic enclaves in Babylonia, not only maintained some social cohesion, but also had some recognized legal standing.<sup>38</sup>

An exceptional indication of this legal standing is the simple fact that the Babylonian text from the Fortification is a legal document written at Persepolis, with no evident connection to Babylonia. I cannot be more precise about the nature of this standing, that is, I cannot identify the tacit sanction that gave the contract its legal force, whether it was the Persian government of Fārs as such or the self-regulation of an enclave merely tolerated by imperial authorities. I can conclude only with a general proposition: that the many national and ethnic labels used in Achaemenid texts were not merely a device with which vainglorious rulers expressed the vastness of their domains, and not only reflections of a tactical convenience with which administrators organized working parties with shared languages, but were also the result of some reality of legal behavior that was necessary for the management of a polyglot, continental empire and observed in the Persian homeland itself.

<sup>38</sup> See Eph'al, "Western Minorities in Babylonia," pp. 87 f. and 76 ff. on the "assembly of elders of the Egyptians" mentioned in Camb. 85:3 (from Babylon). Compare the "assembly of Babylonians" in *AnSt* 33 153:3 (from Hīdalu) and the allusion in CT 54 507 r. 4 ff. to Neo-Elamite support of a sort of shadow government among expatriate Babylonians during

the reign of Assurbanipal: *šar māt Elam[ti šākin-ṭēm]ūtu ša Uruk iqtabâššu . . . šākin ṭēmi išassûšu u Uruk[aja ša ina Elam]ti ana qātēšu iltaknu*, "the king of Elam promised him the governorship of Uruk, they are even addressing him as governor, and they have put the Urukeans who are in Elam under his control."